

A Voice from the Shades:

OR, THE

Death and Sufferings

OF THE

Royal MARTYR

R E V I V ' D.

ALSO THE

SPEECHES and SUFFERINGS

OF THE

Earl of *Strafford*;
Archbishop *Land*,
Duke *Hamilton*,
Earl of *Holland*,



Earl of *Derby*,
Lord *Capel*,
Marquiss of *Montross*,

AND

The Principal of those that Suffered
in the *Royal Cause*.

Whose Dying Words may serve as a Perpetual
Memorial for the Church of *England* against
the Crying Injustice of those Times.

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the *Black Raven* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1709.



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T H E

P R E F A C E.

WERE all the Volumes to be ransack'd that have ever been writ or publish'd on this Subject, nothing wou'd speak with so much Life as the Words of these Dying Persons; which are, and ever will be a Living Memorial against the Crying Injustice of those dangerous Fanatick Times, when the Best of Kings was, in the Open Face of the World, with the Impudent Pageantry and Pretence of Justice, contrary to to all Law, Justice, and Piety, by his own Subjects, in Cold Blood, solemnly Butcher'd at his own Palace-gate; the Chiefest and Best of his Faithful Subjects pick'd out to be made Publick Sacrifices, Thousands Slaughter'd, so that the Nation was made little better than a Common Shambles; the rest Harass'd, Imprison'd, Sequestred, Fin'd till they were undone: And after all this, they were not so Demure Villains as only to wipe their Mouths, and say, they had done no Hurt, but openly vaunted they had wrought a Blessed Reformation, call'd it Fighting God's Battles, when it was against his Anointed: Plunder, and Robbery was spoiling the Egyptians; Murdering Faithful Subjects was bringing Delinquents to Justice; the most Sanguinary Actions, and Unparallell'd Villanies they endeavour'd to sanctifie with the Stile of Carrying on the Cause of God and Religion; as if Religion cou'd justify the Utmost Impiety; and God cou'd be pleas'd with what Hell would blush at. Such

The P R E F A C E.

Such Shameless Proceedings, and Matchless Barbarities, having been notoriously acted among us, of which perhaps, in some Measure, we feel the Effects to this Day; and God knows whether we may not much more, if great Care be not taken in time to remove the Causes: For where there is the same Debauchery of Principles, and Rancour of Mind, it may justly be expected to break out again into the same Practices, whenever an Unhappy Opportunity offers itself. It may perhaps seem needless to add, that when we have dearly suffer'd by Ill Practices, and Wicked Instruments, and have once been deliver'd and freed from them, it should awaken our Care and Courage to prevent their falling under the like Evil Circumstances for the future. And if all that can be said by the Living be not sufficient, we have here the Words of the Dead to refresh our Memories. And though they seem Things that are frequently to be had, and have so often been read, yet the Reader cannot imagine what Variety of Thought, and New and Admirable Matter, he will find there, which ought never to Die while there is a Press standing to hand them down to Posterity. We purposely pass over his Majesty's Misfortunes, and the Accursed Means by which he was brought to his Death; and shall only give a View of his Latter End, and Dying Words, which are so Comprehensive, that from thence a Man may easily see into the whole Design of his, and the Enemies of Monarchy, of which Sort I am afraid there are but too many left yet among us.

THE
SPEECHES
AND
Sufferings, &c.

Some Passages relating to the King before Execution.

Saturday Night, January 27, the King Lodged at Whitehall, and that Evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with the Desires of the King, that seeing they had passed Sentence of Death upon him, and the Time of his Execution might be high, that he might see his Children, and receive the Sacrament, and that Doctor *Juxon*, Bishop of London, might be admitted to pray with him in his private Chamber; both which were granted.

The next Day, being Sunday, January 28th, the King was attended by his Guard to St. James's, where the Bishop of London Preached privately before him; his Text was in Rom. 2. 16. *In the Day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.*

Monday, Jan. 29, his Children were permitted to come to him, where passed this following Discourse, as it was set down in writing by his Daughter the Lady Elizabeth, (which Lady Elizabeth some Months after be-

ing confined to *Carisbrook-Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*, died there with Grief for the Sufferings of her Dear Father.

The King's Speech and Deportment on the Scaffold:

Tuesday, Jan. 30. (the Fatal Day) he was about Ten of the Clock brought from his Palace at *St. James's* to *Whitehall*, Marching on Foot (guarded with a Regiment of Foot Soldiers) through the Park, with their Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guards of Partizans about him, *Dr. Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, on one side, and *Col. Tomlinson* on the other, both bareheaded, bidding them go faster; saying, *That he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown with less Solitude than he had oftentimes bid his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.*

The King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earnestly upon the Block, and asked *Col. Hacker*, if there were no higher? And then spake thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to *Col. Tomlinson*.)

King. I shall be very little heard of any Body, I shall therefore speak a Word unto you here: Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment; but I think it is my Duty to God first, and to my Country, for to clear my self, both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with Innocency: In truth I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the Two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an Account, That I never did intend for to encroach upon their Priviledges: they began upon me, it was the Militia they began upon: they confess that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me: And to be short, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, will see clearly

ly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I: So that the Guilt of these Enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of; I will not, I am in Charity, God forbid that I should lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament; there is no necessity of either; I hope they are free of this Guilt: For I do believe that ill Instruments between them and me has been the chief Cause of all this Bloodshed; so that by way or speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that God's Judgments are just upon me: Many times he does pay Justice by unjust Sentence, that is ordinary. I will only say this, That unjust Sentence * that I suffered for to take effect is punished now by * Strafford. an unjust Sentence upon me, that is so. This I have said to shew you that I am an Innocent Man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian: I hope there is * a good Man that will bear me Witness that I have forgiven all the World, * Pointing to and even those in particular that have been Dr. Juxon, the chief Causes of my Death; who they are God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may Repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular, I pray God, with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only so, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last Gaspe the Peace of the Kingdom. * Turning to So (Sir) I do wish with all my Soul, (* some Gentle- and I do hope there is some that will carry it men that further) that they may endeavour the Peace wrote. of the Kingdom.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the Way, and will put you in the Way: First, you are out of the Way, for certainly all the Way you ever have had yet as I could find by any thing is in the Way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill Way: For Conquest (Sir) in my Opinion is never Just, except there be a Good Just Cause, either

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ther for Matter of Wrong, or Just Title: and then if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have to it, is it that makes it Unjust at the end, that was Just at first: But if it be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery: as a Pyrate said to Alexander, that he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber: And so, Sir, I do think the Way that you are in is much out of the Way. Now, Sir, for to put you in one Way, believe it you will never do right, nor God will ever prosper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due, (that is, my Successors,) and the People their Due. I am as much for them as any of you; you must give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to his Scriptures,) which is now out of Order. For to set you in a Way particularly now I cannot, but only this, A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard. For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that, therefore because it concerns my own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People: And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whatsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. Is it not for having Share in Government, (Sir,) that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different Things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sir, It was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you, (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge,) That I am the Martyr of the People.

In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will only say this to you, that in Truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested than have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God, that you do take those Courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Dr. Juxon. Will your Majesty say somewhat as to your Religion; for though your Majesty's Affections to Religion may be well known to your Servants, yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat for the World's Satisfaction.

King. I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Conscience in Religion I think it is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father, and this bo- * Pointing to
ast Man * I think will witness it. Then Dr. Juxon.

turning to the Officers, said, Sirs, Excuse me for this same, I have a Good Cause, and I have a Gracious God, I will say no more. Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said, Take care they don't put me to Pain, and Ser this, and it please you. But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. Then the King speaking to the Executioner, said, I shall say but short Prayers, and when I thrust out my Hands---

Then the King called to Doctor Juxon for his Night-cap, and put it on; he said to the Executioner, Does my Hair Trouble you? Who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop; then the King turning to Doctor Juxon, said, I have a good Cause, and a Gracious God, on my side.

Doctor Juxon. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is Turbulent and Troublesome, it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry you a very great Way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you shall find a great deal of Cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown; where no Disturbance can be, no Disturbance in the World.

Doctor Juxon. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, Is my Hair well?

Then

Then the King took off his Cloak, and his George, giving his George to Dr. Juxon, saying, *Remember.* *

* *It is thought for to give it to the Prince.* Then the King put off his Doublet, and being in his Wastecoate, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *When I put my Hands out this Way,* stretching them out, *then——*

After that, having said Two or Three Words as he stood to himself, with Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block; and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King said, (thinking he had been going to strike,) *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little Pause, the King stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body; the Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the People; which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin cover'd with Black Velvet for that Purpose, and convey'd into his Lodgings there; and from thence it was carried to his House at St. James's, where his Body was Embalm'd, and put in a Coffin of Lead, and afterwards Buried at Windsor.

The Earl of Strafford's Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Execution on Tower-Hill, May 12, 1641.

My L. Primate of Ireland,

I *It is my very great Comfort that I have your Lordship by me this Day, in regard I have been known to you these many Years, and I do thank God and your Lordship for it that you are here; I should be very glad to obtain so much silence as to be heard a few Words, but I doubt I shall not, the Noise is so*

so great. My Lords, I am come hither by the Good will and Pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last Debt I owe to Sin, which is Death, and by the Blessing of that God to rise again through the Merits of Jesus Christ to Righteousness and Life Eternal. [Here he was a little interrupted.]

My Lords, I am come hither to submit to that Judgment which hath passed against me. I do it with a very quiet and contented Mind. I thank God I do freely forgive all the World; a Forgiveness that is not spoken from the Teeth outwards, (as they say,) but from the very Heart I speak it in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing Thought arising in me towards any Man living. I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me Witness, that in all my Employment, since I had the Honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the Purpose of my Heart but what tended to the joint and individual Prosperity of King and People, although it hath been my ill Fortune to be misconstrued.

I am not the first that hath suffered in this kind; it is the common Portion of us all, while we are in this Life, to err; Righteous Judgment we must wait for in another Place, for here we are very subject to be mis-judged one of another: There is one thing that I desire to free myself of, and I am very confident (speaking it now with so much cheerfulness) that I shall obtain your Christian Charity in the Belief of it; I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of England were the most Happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best Means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my Death I here acquit all the World, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contriv'd it, though in the Intentions and Purposes of my Heart I am not guilty for what I die for: And my Lord Primate, it is a great Comfort for me that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment as is the utmost Execution of this Sentence: I do infinitely rejoice in this Mercy of his, and I beseech God return it into his own Bosom, that he may find Mercy when he stands most in need of it.

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I wish this Kingdom all the Prosperity and Happiness in the World; I did it living, and now dying it is my Wish: I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and consider seriously, whether the Beginning of the Happiness and Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood: Consider this when you are at your Homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least Drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgment against any one of you; but I fear you are in a wrong Way.

My Lords, I have but one Word more, and wish that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient Son to the Church of England, wherein I was Born, and in which I was Bred. Peace and Prosperity be ever to it.

It hath been objected, (if it were an Objection worth the answering,) that I have been inclined to Popery; but I say truly from my Heart, that from the time that I was One and Twenty Years of Age to this present, going now upon Forty-Nine, I never had in my Heart to doubt this Religion of the Church of England; nor ever had any Man the Boldness to suggest any such thing to me to the best of my Remembrance: And so being reconciled by the Merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose Bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those Eternal Happinesses which shall never have end; I desire heartily the Forgiveness of every Man for any rash or unadvised Words, or any thing done amiss; and so my Lords and Gentlemen Farewel, Farewel all the Things of this World.

I desire that you would be silent, and join with me in Prayer, and I trust in God we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven, there to receive the Accomplishment of all Happiness, where every Tear shall be wiped away from our Eyes, and every sad Thought from our Hearts; and so God bless this Kingdom, and Jesus have Mercy on my Soul.

Then turning himself about he saluted all the Noblemen, and took a Solemn Leave of all Considerable Persons upon the Scaffold, giving them his Hand.

After that he said, Gentlemen, I would say my Prayers, and intreat you all to Pray with me, and for me; then his Chaplain laid the Book of Common-Prayer upon the Chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he Prayed almost

most a quarter of an Hour, and then as long or longer without the Book, and concluded with the Lord's Prayer.

Standing up he espies his Brother Sir George Wentworth, and calls him to him, saying, Brother, we must part, remember me to my Sister, and to my Wife, and carry my Blessing to my Son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an Obedient Son to the Church of England; and warn him that he bears no private Grudge or Revenge toward any Man concerning me; and bid him beware that he meddle not with Church-livings, for that will prove a Moth and Canker to him in his Estate; and wish him to content himself to be a Servant to his Country, not aiming at higher Preferments.

Carry my Blessing also to my Daughter Anne, and Arabella; charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them; not forgetting my little Infant, who yet knows neither Good nor Evil, and cannot speak for itself; God speak for it, and bless it; now (said he) I have nigh done, one Stroke will make my Wife Husbandless, my dear Children Fatherless, and my poor Servants Masterless, and will separate me from my Dear Brother, and all my Friends. But let God be to you and them all in all. Then after a small Ceremony more, his Head at one Blow was severed from his Body.

A Speech of the most Reverend Father in God,
William, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, spoken at his Death upon the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, January 10, 1644.

Good People,

This is an uncomfortable time to Preach, yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture, Heb. 12. 2. Let us run with Patience that Race which is set before us, looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our Faith, who for the Joy that

was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the Right Hand of the Throne of God.

I have been long in my Race, and how I have looked to Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my Faith, he best knows; I am now come to the end of my Race, and here I find the Cross a Death of Shame; but the Shame must be despised, or no coming to the Right Hand of God: Jesus despised the Shame for me, and God forbid but I should despise the Shame for him: I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet are now upon the very brink of it; an Argument I hope that God is bringing me into the Land of Promise, for that was the Way through which he led his People: But before they came to it he instituted a Passover for them, a Lamb it was, but it must be eaten with Sourd Herbs; I shall obey, and labour to digest the Sourd Herbs as well as the Lamb. And I shall remember it in the Lord's Passover; I shall not think of the Herbs, nor be angry with the Hand which gathereth them, but look up only to him who instituted that, and govern these; for Men can have no more Power over me than what is given them from above. I am not in Love with this Passage through the Red Sea, for I have the Weakness and Infirmitie of Flesh and Blood plentifully in me: And I have Prayed with my Saviour, ut transiret Calix iste, that this Cup of Red Wine might pass from me: But if not, God's Will (not mine) be done, and I shall most willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleases, and enter into this Sea, yea, and pass through it, in the Way that he shall lead me.

But I would have it remembered, (Good People,) that when God's Servants were in this boisterous Sea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which persecuted them (and did in a manner drive them into that Sea) were drowned in the same Waters, while they were in pursuit of them: I know my God whom I serve is able to deliver me from this Sea of Blood, as he was to deliver the Three Children from the Furnace; and (I most humbly thank my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as theirs was then: They would not worship the Image the King had set up, nor will I the Imaginations which the People are setting up; nor will I forsake the Temple, and the Truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's

boam's Galf in Dan and in Bethe! And as for this People they are at this Day miserably misled, (God of his Mercy open their Eyes that they may see the Right Way,) for at this Day the Blind lead the Blind, and if they go on both will certainly fall into the Ditch. For my self I am (and I acknowledge it in all Humility) a most grievous Sinner many Ways, by Thought, Word, and Deed; and I cannot doubt but that God hath Mercy in store for me a poor Penitent, as well as for other Sinners; I have now upon this sad Occasion ransacked every Corner of my Heart, and yet I thank God I have not found (among the many) any one Sin which deserves Death by any known Law of this Kingdom: And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my Judges; for if they proceed upon Proof, (by valuable Witnesses,) I or any other Innocent may be justly Condemned. And I thank God, tho' the Weight of the Sentence lies heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my Life. And tho' I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first Man, that ever died by an Ordinance of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have gone this Way, tho' not by this Means; for Elphegus was hurried away, and lost his Head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury in the Fury of Wat Tyler and his Fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist had his Head danced off by a lewd Woman; and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his Head to a persecuting Sword. Many Examples, (Great and Good,) and they teach me Patience; for I hope my Cause in Heaven will look of another Dye than the Colour that is upon it here. And some Comfort it is to me, not only that I go the Way of these Great Men in their several Generations, but also that my Charge (as foul as it is made) looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul, (Acts 25. 3.) For he was accused for the Law and the Temple, i. e. Religion. And like that of St. Stephen, (Acts 6. 14.) for breaking the Ordinances which Moses gave, i. e. Law and Religion, the Holy Place and the Temple, (vers. 13.) But you will say, do I then compare my self with the Integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No, far be that from me; I only raise a Comfort to my self, that these great Saints and Servants of God were laid at in their Times, as I am now. And 'tis Memorable that St. Paul who helped on this Accu-

sation

sation against St. Stephen did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would have brought in Popery; I shall answer more fully by and by: In the mean time you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself, If we let him alone all Men will believe in him, & venient Romani, and the Romans will come and take away both our Place and Nation. Here was a Causeless Cry against Christ, that the Romans will come; and see how just the Judgment of God was, they Crucified Christ for fear lest the Romans should come, and his Death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God punishing them with that which they most fear'd: And I pray God this Clamour of Veni Romani, of which I have given no Cause, help not to bring them in; for the Pope never had such a Hardest in England since the Reformation as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are amongst us. In the mean time, by Honour and Dishonour, by Good Report and Evil, as a Deceiver, and yet True, am I passing through this World, 2 Cor. 6.

And, First, This I shall be bold to speak of the King, our Gracious Sovereign, he hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery; but on my Conscience, (of which I shall give God a very present Account,) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any Man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law established) as any Man in this Kingdom; and that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it: And I think I do, or should know, both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in England.

The Second Particular is concerning this Great and Populous City, (which God bless.) Here hath been of late a Fashion taken up to gather Hands, and then go to the Great Court of this Kingdom, (the Parliament,) and clamour for Justice, as if that Great and Wise Court, before whom the Causes come, (which are unknown to the many,) could not, or would not, do Justice but at their Appointment; a Way which may endanger many an Innocent Man, and pluck his Blood upon their own Heads, and perhaps upon the City's also. And this hath been lately practis'd against my self; [the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Pa-
risha

rish to Parish without Check;] God forgive the Setters of this, (with all my Heart I beg it,) but many Well-meaning People are caught by it. In Saint Stephen's Case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the People against him; and Herod went the same Way, when he had killed Saint James, yet he would not venture upon St. Peter, till he found how the other pleased the People. But take heed of having your Hands full of Blood, for there is a Time (best known to himself) when God (above other Sins) makes Inquisition for Blood; and when that Inquisition is on Foot the Psalmist tells us that God remembers, (but that's not all,) he remembers and forgets not the Complaint of the Poor; that is, Whose Blood is shed by Oppression, Verse 9. Take heed of this, 'Tis a Fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God, but then especially, when he is making Inquisition for Blood; and (with my Prayers to avert it,) I do heartily desire this City to remember the Prophecy that is expressed, Jeremiah 26. 15.

See the Words as large in the Title of this Relation.

The Third Particular is the Poor Church of England. It hath flourished, and been a Shelter to other Neighbouring Churches, when Storms have driven upon them. But alas! Now 'tis in a Storm itself, and God only knows whether or how it shall get out; and (which is worse than a Storm from without) it's become like an Oak cleft to Shivers with Wedges made out of its own Body, and at every Cleft Profaneness and Irreligion is entering in, while as Prosper speaks, (in his Second Book, De vitæ contemptu, Cap. 4.) Men that introduce Profaneness are cloaked over with the Name Religionis Imaginariae, of Imaginary Religion; for we have lost the Substance, and dwell too much in Opinion; and that Church, which all the Jesuits Machinations could not ruin, is fallen into Danger by her own.

The last Particular, (for I am not willing to be too long,) is my self: I was Born and Baptized in the Bosom of the Church of England, established by Law; in that Profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die: This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in Matter of Religion, and therefore I desire it may be remembered I have always

ways lived in the Protestant Religion, established in England, and in that I come now to die. What Clamours and Slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an Uniformity in the External Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church, all Men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at last I am accused of High Treason in Parliament, a Crime which my Soul ever abhorred: This Treason was charged to consist of these Two Parts, An Endeavour to Subvert the Laws of the Land, and a like Endeavour to Overthrow the true Protestant Religion, establish'd by Law. Besides my Answers to the several Charges, I protested my Innocency in both Houses. It was said, Prisoners Protestations at the Bar must not be taken. I can bring no Witness of my Heart, and the Intentions thereof, therefore I must come to my Protestation, not at the Bar, but my Protestation at this Hour and Instant of my Death; in which I hope all Men will be such Charitable Christians, as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an Account for the Truth of it. I do therefore in the Presence of God, and his Holy Angels, take it upon my Death, That I never endeavour'd the Subversion either of Law or Religion; and I desire you all to remember this Protest of mine for my Innocency in these, and from all Treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an Enemy to Parliaments. No, I understand them, and the Benefit that comes by them, too well to be so. But I did dislike the Misgovernment of some Parliaments many Ways, and I had Good Reason for it: for *Corruptio optimi est pessima*, there is no Corruption in the World so bad as that which is of the best Thing in itself; for the better the Thing is in Nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the Highest Court, over which no other hath Jurisdiction, when 'tis misinform'd, or misgovern'd, the Subject is left without all Remedy. But I have done; I forgive all the World, all and every of those Bitter Enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every Man; whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have, Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg Forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to join in Prayer with me.

The Lord Archbishop's Prayer as he kneeled
by the Block.

LORD, I am coming as fast as I can; I know I must pass through the Shadow of Death before I can come to see thee; but it is but Umbra Mortis, a meer Shadow of Death, a little Darkness upon Nature; but thou by thy Merits and Passion hast broke through the Jaws of Death. So, Lord, receive my Soul, and have Mercy upon me, and bless this Kingdom with Peace and Plenty, and with Brotherly Love and Charity, that there may not be this Effusion of Christian Blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ's Sake, if it be thy Will.

Then laying his Head upon the Block, and praying silently to himself, he said aloud, Lord, receive my Soul, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dextrously did his Office, and took it off at a Blow, his Soul ascending on the Wings of Angels into Abraham's Bosom, and leaving his Body on the Scaffold to the Care of Men.

The Speech of Duke Hamilton on the Scaffold,
who was Beheaded in the Palace-Yard, West-
minster, March 9th, 1649.

Duke. I Think it is truly not very necessary for me to speak much, there are many Gentlemen and Soldiers there that see me, but my Voice truly is so weak, so low, that they cannot hear me; neither truly was I ever at any Time so much in love with speaking, or with any Thing I had to express, that I took delight in it; yet this being the last Time that I am to do so, by a Divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this End justly for my Sins, I shall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the Matter that

that I am now to suffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of England: Truly, Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no difference; I never intended either the generality of its Prejudice, or any particular Man's in it; what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was Born, whose Commands I could not disobey without running into the same Hazard there of that Condition that I am now in: The Ends, Sir, of that Engagement are publick, they are in Print, and so I shall not need to specify them.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordship's Face as you speak.

Duke. No, Sir, it will not burn it, I hope I shall see a Brighter Sun than this, Sir, very speedily.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun of Righteousness, my Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was saying, Sir,) Is pleased God, so to dispose that Army under my Command as it was ruined; and I, as their General, cloathed with a Commission, stand here now ready to die: I shall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea, what I said in my own Defence at the Court of Justice, my self being satisfied with the Commands that are laid upon me, and they satisfied with the Justice of their Procedure, according to the Laws of this Land: God is just; and howsoever I shall not say any Thing as to the Matter of the Sentence, but that I do willingly submit to his Divine Providence; and I acknowledge that very many Ways I deserve even a Worldly Punishment, as well as hereafter; for we are all sinful, Sir, and I a great one: Yet for my Comfort I know there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding Merciful; I know my Redeemer sits at his Right Hand, and am confident (clapping his Hand to his Breast) is mediating for me at this Instant; I am hopeful through his Free Grace, and All-sufficient Merits, to be pardoned of my Sins, and to be received into his Mercy; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ: I have not been tainted with my Religion; I thank God for it; since my Infancy it has been such as hath been profess'd in the Land, and establish'd; and now it is not this Religion, or that Religion, or this or that Fancy of Men, that is built upon

'tis but one that is right, one that's sure, and that comes from God, Sir, and in the Free Grace of our Saviour Sir, there is truly something that (* had * Observing the I thought my Speech would have been thus Writers. taken) I would have digested it into some better Method than now I can, and shall desire these Gentlemen that do write it that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this Manner be published to my Disadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have spoken thus when I came here.

There are, Sirs, Terrible Aspersions have been laid upon my self, truly such as I thank God I am very free from, as if my Actions and Intentions had not been such as they were pretended for; but that notwithstanding what I pretended it was for the King, there was nothing less intended than to serve him in it. I was Bred with him for many Years; I was his Domestick Servant, and there was nothing declar'd by the Parliament that was not really intended by me. And truly in it I ventur'd my Life one Way, and now I lose it another Way, and that was one of the Ends: As to the King I speak only of that, because the rest has many Particulars, and to clear my self from so horrid an Aspersion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other Design known to me by the Incoming of the Army than what is really in the Declaration published. His Person I do profess I had reason to love as he was my King, and as he had been my Master; it has pleas'd God now to dispose of him, so as it cannot be thought Flattery to have said this, or any End in me for the saying of it, but to free my self from that Calumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by it, yet Truth is that which we shall gain by for ever.

There hath been much spoken, Sir, of an Invitation into this Kingdom, it's mention'd in that Declaration; and truly to that I did and do remit my self: And I have been very much labour'd for Discoveries of these Inviters, 'tis no time to dissemble. How willing I was to have served this Nation in any Thing that was in my Power is known to very many Honest, Pious and Religious Men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have served them, if it had pleas'd them to have preserv'd my Life, in whose

Hands there was a Power: They have not thought it fit, and so I am become unuseful in that which willingly I would have done. As I said at First, Sir, so I say now concerning that Point, I wish the Kingdom's Happiness, I wish its Peace; and truly, Sir, I wish that this Blood of mine may be the last that is drawn; and howsoever I may perhaps have some reluctancy with my self as to the Matter of my Fact, for my Suffering for my Fact, yet I freely forgive all, Sir; I carry no Rancour along with me to my Grave; his Will be done that has created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miserable, sinful Creature, now speaking before him. For me to speak, Sir, to you of State-business, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my Opinion in that, or for any Thing in that Nature, truly it is to no End, it contributes nothing: My own Inclination hath been to Peace from the Beginning; and it is known to many that I never was an Ill Instrument betwixt the King and his People: I never acted to the Prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms; I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my Prayers to God Almighty for the Happiness of the King; and truly I shall pray still that God may so direct him, as that may be done which shall tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to say that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

Dr. Sibbald. Your Lordship has not so fully said it.

Duke. Truly I do believe I did say something.

Dr. Sibbald. I know you did, 'tis pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.

Duke. Truly, Sir, for the Profession of my Religion, that which I said was the Establish'd Religion, and that which I have practis'd in my own Kingdom where I was Born and Bred; My Tenets they need not to be express'd, they are known to all. And I am not of a Rigid Opinion; many Godly Men there are that may have Scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more than at any time; differing in Opinion does not move me, (not any Man's,) my own is clear. Sir, the Lord forgive me my Sins, and I forgive freely all that even I might (as Worldly Man) have the greatest Animosity

Animosity against: We are bidden to forgive, Sir, 'tis a Command laid upon us, (and there mentioned,) Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that Trespass against us.

This Execution being done, the Sheriffs Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of Holland, which they did in the midway between the Scaffold and Westminster-Hall, and the Under-Sheriff's Son having received him into his Charge, conducted him to the Scaffold.

Henry, Lord Rich, Earl of Holland, his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Death, March 9, 1649.

It is to no purpose (I think) to speak any thing here. Which way must I speak? And then being directed to the Front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over the Rails) said, I think it is fit to say something, since God hath call'd me to this Place. The first thing which I must profess, is what concerns my Religion, and my Breeding, which hath been in a good Family, that hath ever been faithful to the true Protestant Religion, in the which I have been Bred, in the which I have Lived, and in the which by God's Grace and Mercy I shall Die. I have not Lived according to that Education I had in that Family where I was Born and Bred. I hope God will forgive me my Sins, since I conceive it is very much his Pleasure to bring me to this Place for the Sins that I have committed. The Cause that hath brought me hither I believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdom; truly I look upon it as a Judgment, and a just Judgment of God: Not but I have offended so much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have no extream Vanity in serving them very extraordinarily; for those Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been very faithful to the Publick, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever exprest truly and clearly to them. The Dispositions of Affairs now have put Things in another Posture than they were when I was engaged

with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those Principles that ever I have profess'd; I have lived in them, and by God's Grace will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them farther than I thought reasonable, and truly there I left them: But there hath been nothing that I have said or done, or profess'd, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very Constant, and very Clear, upon the Principles that I ever have gone upon; which was to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have said in the first Place) the Common-wealth, and to seek the Peace of the Kingdom: That made me think it no proper time, being prest out by Accidents and Circumstances to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in agitation, but nothing agreed on, for sending Propositions to the King; that was the farthest Aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no Intention, none at all. And God be praised, although my Blood comes to be shed here, there was I think scarce a Drop of Blood shed in that Action that I was engaged in. For the present Affairs, as they are I cannot tell how to judge of them: And truly they are in such a Condition as (I conceive) no Body can make a Judgment of them; and therefore I must make use of Prayers rather than of my Opinion; which are, that God would bless this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; that he would settle it in a Way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a King, by the Lords, by the Commons; a Government that I conceive it hath flourished much under; and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a Prejudice, a Disorder, and a Confusion, than the contrary; I look upon the Posterity of the King, and truly my Conscience directs me to it, to desire, that if God be pleased these People may look upon them with that Affection that they owe; that they may be called in again, and they may be, not through Blood, nor through Disorder, admitted again into that Power, and to that Glory, that God in their Birth intended to them. I shall pray with all my Soul for the Happiness of this State, of this Nation, that the Blood which is here spilt may even be the last that may fall among us; and truly I should lay down my Life with as much Cheerfulness as ever Person did, if I conceived that there would be no more Blood follow us: For a State

State or Affairs that are Built upon Blood, is a Foundation for the most part that doth not Prosper.

After the Blessing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament, I do wish with all my Heart Happiness and a Blessing to all those that have been Authors in this Business; and truly that have been Authors in this very Work that brings us hither, I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them; as God will forgive my Sins, so I desire God may forgive them.

I have a particular Relation, as I am Chancellor of Cambridge. And truly I must here, since it is the last of my Prayers, pray to God that that University may go on in that happy Way which it is in, that God may make it a Nursery to Plant those Persons that may be distributed to the Kingdom, that the Souls of the People may receive a great Benefit and a great Advantage by them; and (I hope) God will Reward them for their Kindness, and their Affections that I have found from them. * I have said what Religion I

have been Bred in, what Religion I have been Born in, what Religion I have Practised, I began with it, and I must end with it. I told you that my Actions and my Life have not been agreeable to my Breeding. I have told you likewise that the

* Looking towards Mr. Bolton.

Family where I was Bred hath been an Exemplary Family, (I may say so I hope without Vanity,) of much Affection to Religion, and of much Faithfulness to this Kingdom, and to this State: I have endeavoured to do those Actions that became an honest Man, and a good Englishman, and which became a good Christian. I have been willing to oblige those that have been in Trouble, those that have been in Persecution, and truly I find a great Reward of it; for I have found their Prayers and their Kindness now in this Distress, and in this Condition, and I think it a great Reward, I pray God Reward them for it.

I am a great Sinner, and I hope God will be pleased to hear my Prayers, to give me Faith to trust in him, that as he hath called me to Death at this Place, he will make it but a Passage to an Eternal Life thro' Jesus Christ, which I trust to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the Mercy of God. And so I pray God bless you all, and send that you may see this to be the last Execution, and the last Blood, that is likely to be spilt among you.

Arthur,

*Arthur, Lord Capel, his Speech on the Scaffold
immediately before his Death, March 9, 1649.*

*The Execution of the Lord of Holland being thus
performed, the Lord Capel was brought to the
Scaffold as the former, and in the Way to the
Scaffold he put off his Hat to the People on both
sides, looking very Austerely about him.*

‘ **T**HE Conclusion that I made with those that sent
‘ me hither, and are the Cause of this violent Death
‘ of mine, shall be the beginning of what I shall say to
‘ you: When I made an Address to them, (which was
‘ the last,) I told them with much Sincerity, that I would
‘ pray to the God of all Mercies that they might be Par-
‘ takers of his inestimable and boundless Mercies in Jesus
‘ Christ; and truly I still pray that Prayer; and I beseech
‘ the God of Heaven forgive any Injury they have done
‘ to me, from my Soul I wish it. And truly this I tell
‘ you as a Christian, to let you see I am a Christian:
‘ But it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more,
‘ that I am a Protestant; and truly I am a Protestant,
‘ and very much in love with the Profession of it, after
‘ the manner as it was established in England by the Thir-
‘ ty-nine Articles; a Blessed Way of Profession, and such
‘ an one as truly I never knew any so good. I am so far
‘ from being a Papist, which Somebody have (truly) ve-
‘ ry unworthily at some time charged me withal, that
‘ truly I profess to you, that though I love good Works,
‘ and commend good Works, yet I hold they have no-
‘ thing at all to do in the Matter of Salvation; my An-
‘ chor-hold is this, *That Christ loved me, and gave himself
‘ for me,* this is that that I rest upon.

‘ And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen
‘ of the whole World, and in that Consideration I am
‘ here

here condemned to Die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that is, the Law of the Sword: I had the Protection of that for my Life, and the Honour of it; but truly I will not trouble you much with that, because in another Place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other Means what Arguments I used in that Case; but truly that that is stranger, you that are *Engliffmen*, behold here an *Engliffman* before you, and acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any Law of *England*; and shall I tell you more? (Which is strangest of all,) contrary to all the Laws of *England* that I know of. And truly I will tell you, in the Matter of the Civil Part of my Death, and the Cause that I have maintain'd, I die; (I take it) for maintaining the Fifth Commandment, injoyned by God himself, which enjoins Reverence and Obedience to parents. All Divines on all Hands, though they contradict one another in many several Opinions, yet all Divines on all Hands do acknowledge that here is intended Magistracy and Order; and certainly I have obey'd that Magistracy and that Order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey; and truly I do say very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that Fifth Commandment given by God himself, and written with his own Finger. And now, Gentlemen, I will take this Opportunity to tell you that I cannot imitate a better nor a greater Ingenuity than his that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust Judgment upon another himself was brought to suffer by an unjust Judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all Men that are concern'd in it may take the Occasion of it, of humble Repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profess to you that I did give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away with a more Precious Blood, the Blood of his own Son, and my Dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it; truly this I may say, I had not the least Part nor Degree of Malice

Malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to God's
 Glory, and the Accusation of my own Frailty, and the
 Frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cow-
 ardice not to resist so great a Torrent as carried that
 Business at that Time. And truly this I think I am
 most guilty of, of not Courage enough in it, but Ma-
 lice I had none; but whatsoever it was, GOD, I am
 sure, hath pardon'd it, hath given me the Assurance of
 it, that Christ Jesus his Blood hath washed it away;
 and truly I do from my Soul wish that all Men that
 have any Stain by it, may seriously Repent, and receive
 a Remission and Pardon from God for it. And now,
 Gentlemen, we have an Occasion from this Intimation to
 remember his Majesty, our King, that last was; and I
 cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly I must
 needs say that in my Opinion, that have had time to con-
 sider all the Images of the Greatest and Virtuouslest Prin-
 ces in the World; and truly in my Opinion there was
 not a more Virtuous and more Sufficient Prince known
 in the World than our Gracious King CHARLES that
 died last: God Almighty preserve our King that now
 is, his Son; God send him more Fortune and longer
 Days; God Almighty so assist him, that he may ex-
 ceed both the Virtues and Sufficiencies of his Father:
 For certainly, I that have been a Councillor to him,
 and have lived long with him, and in a time when Dis-
 covery is easily enough made; for he was Young, (he
 was about Thirteen, Fourteen, Fifteen or Sixteen Years
 of Age,) those Years I was with him, truly I never
 saw greater Hopes of Virtue in any Young Person than
 in him; great Judgment, great Understanding, great
 Apprehension, much Honour in his Nature, and truly
 a very Perfect *Englishman* in his Inclination; and I pray
 God restore him to this Kingdom, and unite the King-
 doms one to another, and send a great Happiness both
 to you and to him, that he may long Live and Reign a-
 mong you, and that that Family may Reign till the
 Kingdom come; that is, while all Temporal Power is
 consummated; I beseech God of his Mercy give much
 Happiness to this your King, to you that in it shall be
 his Subjects by the Grace of Jesus Christ. Truly

Truly I like my Beginning so well, that I will make my Conclusion with it, that is, That God Almighty would confer of his Infinite and Inestimable Grace and Mercy to those that are the Cause of my coming hither; I pray God give them as much Mercy as their Hearts can wish; and truly for my Part I will not accuse any one of them of Malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any Malice in them; what other Ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one. And so the Lord of Heaven Bless you all, God Almighty be infinite in Goodness and Mercy to you, and direct you in those Ways of Obedience to his Commands, to his Majesty, that this Kingdom may be an Happy and Glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an Happy King in so Good and so Obedient People, God Almighty keep you all, God Almighty preserve this Kingdom, God Almighty preserve you all.

The Speech of the Right Honourable James, Earl of Derby, upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancashire, immediately before his Execution.

Coming near the Scaffold, he looked up, and said, 'God, I thank thee, I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there; there are but these few Steps to my Eternity; then kissing the Ladder, he went up and saluted the People; he walked a Turn or Two upon the Scaffold, then went to the East End of the Scaffold, and pulled off his Hat again, and saluted the People with a cheerful Countenance, said—— I am come, by the Will of my Heavenly Father, to die in this Place, and I thank God I do with all Willingness and Readiness submit to his most Blessed Will.

'Tis a Place I desired to see when I was last in the Country, both for the mutual Obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, as also for your particular Respects to me, whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that Foul Imputation, that I was a Man of Blood; and that particularly, I kill'd one Beale here in cold Blood: I doubt

not but there are here many Men present, both that
 Day this Town was taking, and divers other times
 during this War, that can justifie I preserv'd many
 Lives; but I know there is not any one present that
 can lay the Blood of any Man whatsoever to my
 Charge, unless what might casually happen in the Fu-
 ry and Heat of a Battel; and why I die in this Town
 I know not, unless it be to perswade the Nation that
 I fall as a Sacrifice for that Blood which some said I
 shed here, from which I am acquitted before you, and
 from which I had also cleared my self before my
 Grand Judges at *Westminster*, had they pleas'd to hear
 me before they had destroyed me; that Report being
 hastily brought up among them, by some that I
 hope God hath forgiven, and too readily drunk in by
 others, whom I pray God to forgive. As for my
 Crime, (as some are pleas'd to term it,) which was ob-
 jected against me by the Council of War, (for *Booth's*
 Death was never mentioned against me there, that
 being only secretly used to raise a Prejudice against me
 in the Judgments of such as did not know me,) my
 Crimes, (I say,) though I hope it deserves a far better
 Name, was, that I came into my own Country with
 my own Lawful King; I came in Obedience to his
 Majesties Call, whom both by the Laws of God, and
 the Laws of this Land, I conceived my self obliged
 to obey, and according to the Protestation I took in
 Parliament in the time of that Blessed Prince his Fa-
 ther; so if it be my Crime, I here confess it again
 before God, Angels and Men, that I love Monarchy as
 the Best Government, and I die with Love and Ho-
 nour: And for the Love and Honour I bear to my Ma-
 ster that now is, *Charles* the Second of that Name,
 whom I my self in this Country proclaimed King,
 the Lord bleſs and preserve him, and incline the Hearts
 of those that have Power in this Nation to accept
 him to his Father's Throne with Honour and Peace;
 for certainly as I believe this Nation will never be
 well contented, never thoroughly happy, without a
 King, so I believe also that King *Charles II.* our now
 Lawful King, were he a Stranger to this Crown, were the
 the

the most Fit, and most Accomplished Prince that this Day lives, to take the Government of this People; his Admirable Piety, Vertue, Justice, Great Valour and Discretion, far above so few Years, doth now make him in all Places he comes highly Beloved, and will hereafter make him Honourable among all Nations; and I wish the People of this Nation so much Happiness (when my Eyes are closed) that he may Peaceably be received to the Enjoyment of his Just Right, and then they shall never want their Just Right, which, till then, they will always want.

As for my being in Arms in the beginning of this War, I profess here in the presence of my God, before whom within a few Minutes I must make an Account for this Profession, I only sought for Peace, and settling the late King my Master in his Just Rights, and the Maintenance of the Laws of this Land, and that I had no other Design, Intent, or Purpose, for my then taking up Arms: And for this last Engagement, I profess here again in the Presence of the same God, that I did it for the restoring of my Lawful Sovereign into that Throne, out of which his Father was most unchristianly and barbarously taken, by the most unjust Sentence of a pretended Court of Justice, and himself against Law and all Justice kept out and dispossessed of; and this was all my Reason. For as for Estate or Quality I wanted not a sufficient Competency, neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either: For by the Favour of my King's Predecessors my Family was raised to a Condition well known in this Country; and now it is as well known that by his Enemies I am adjudged to die, and that by new and monstrous Laws, as making me an Enemy to my Country for fighting for my Country, as a Traitor to the Laws for endeavouring to preserve the Laws: But O God give me Grace to consider him who suffered such Contradictions of Sinners; and, O my God, assert the King to his Father's Throne, assert their Laws to their former Honour, and restore thy own Religion in its Purity, that all these Shadows and false Pretences of Religion may vanish away, and our Childrens Posterities may serve thee in Spirit and in Truth. E 2 God.

‘ Good Friends, I die for the * King, the Laws of the
 ‘ Land, and the Protestant Religion maintained in the
 ‘ Church of *England*; all which as I was ready to main-
 ‘ tain with my Life, so I cheerfully suffer for them in
 ‘ this welcome Death.

‘ I am Sentenc’d to Death by a Council of War,
 ‘ after Quarter for Life, and Assurance of Honourable
 ‘ and Safe Usage by Captain *Edge*. I had Reason to
 ‘ have expected the Council would have justified my
 ‘ Plea, which hath been Ancient, Honourable, Sacred
 ‘ and Unviolable, until this time that I am made the
 ‘ first suffering Precedent: For I dare affirm it that
 ‘ never Gentleman before in any Christian Nation was
 ‘ adjudged to Death by a Council of War after Quar-
 ‘ ter given; I am the first, and I pray God I may be
 ‘ the last Precedent in this Case: I must die, and I
 ‘ thank God I am ready for it; Death would now be
 ‘ my Choice had I the whole World in Competition
 ‘ with it. I leave nothing behind me which I much
 ‘ care for, but my King, my Wife, my Children, my
 ‘ Friends, whom (I trust) the never-failing Mercies of
 ‘ my

* *At which Words, King and Laws, a Trooper said
 aloud, we will neither have King, Lord, nor Laws; and
 upon a sudden the Soldiers being either surprized with Fear
 at a strange Noise that was heard, or else falling into
 Mutiny, presently fell into a Tumult, Riding up and down
 the Streets, Cutting and Slashing the People, some being
 Killed, and many Wounded; his Lordship looking upon this
 sad Spectacle, said thus,] Gentlemen, it troubles me more
 than my own Death that others are Hurt, and (I fear)
 Die for me; I beseech you stay your Hands, I fly not;
 you pursue not me, and here are none to pursue you.
 But being interrupted in his Speech, and not permitted to go
 on further, (for which the Officers were much troubled,) he
 turn’d aside to his Servant, and gave him the Speech into his
 Hand, saying, I will speak to my God, who I know will
 hear me, and when I am Dead let the World know
 what I would have said. Here his Lordship was inter-
 rupted: But it was as follows, in his own Copy under his
 o.b. Hand.*

my God will provide for: Beseech God shew Mercy to those who neither had Mercy nor Justice for me: My Blessed Saviour taught me by his Example and Command both to pray for my Enemies, and to forgive my Enemies: I forgive them freely, even those that contrived my Ruin, and pursued me to Death; I thank God, I never personally offended them, to my Knowledge in my Life, and let me not offend against them at my Death: I forgive them freely, and pray God for Christ's Sake to forgive them also.

Of my Faith and Religion I shall not (I hope) need to say much herein, I hope my Enemies (if now I have any) will speak for me. I profess my Faith to be in God only, from whom I look for my Salvation, through the Precious Merits and Sufferings of my Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, which Merits and Sufferings are applied to my Soul by the Blessed Spirit of Comfort, the Spirit of God, by whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my Blessed Redeemer.

I Die a Dutiful Son to the Church of *England*, as it was established in that Blessed Prince, my late Master's, Reign, which all Men of Learning and Temperance will acknowledge to be the most Pure, and Agreeable to the Word of God, and Primitive Government, of any Church within 12 or 1300 Years since Christ, and which (to my great Comfort) I left established in the *Isle of Man*; God preserve it there, and restore it to this Nation.

And O Blessed God, I magnifie thy Name, that thou gavest me the Happiness and Mercy to be Born in a Christian Nation, and in a Nation where thy Truth was professed in Purity: With Honour to thy Name, and Comfort to thy People, I ascribe the Comforts of thy Holy Spirit, which I feel in my Bosom, to the Ministry of thy Word and Sacraments, convey'd unto me in thy Church, and made effectual by the Operation of the same Blessed Spirit. In this Faith, Good People, I have lived, and in this I die: Pray for me, I beseech you, and the God of Mercies hear your Prayers, and my Prayers, for mine and your Salvation.

‘ The

The Speech of the most Loyal and Valiant Marquis of Montrose, who was inhumanly Executed at Edinburgh, the 17th of May, 1650, for his Firm and Generous Adherence to the Unfortunate Martyr, King Charles I.

BEING Cloathed in a Scarlet Cloak richly laced with Gold Lace, he was brought to the Scaffold: He came along the Streets with so great State, and there appeared in his Countenance so much Beauty, Majesty and Gravity, as amaz'd the Beholders; and many, even of his Enemies, did acknowledge him to be the Gallantest Subject in the World: But because all his Friends and Well-wishers were debarr'd from coming near him, there was a Boy design'd for that Purpose on the Scaffold, who took his last Speech, which was to this Effect.

' I am sorry if this Manner of my End be Scandalous to any Good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the Righteous according to the Ways of the Wicked, and to the Wicked according to the Ways of the Righteous? Doth not sometimes a Just Man perish in his Righteousness, and a Wicked Man prosper in his Malice? They who know me should not disesteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this Kind; yet I must not say but that all God's Judgments are just; for my Private Sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I submit my self to him: But in regard of Man, I may say they are but Instruments; God forgive them, I forgive them; they have oppressed the Poor, and violently perverted Judgment and Justice, but he that is higher than they will reward them.

' What I did in this Kingdom was in Obedience to the most Just Command of my Sovereign for his Defence in the Day of his Distress against those that rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing, but Fear God, and Honour the King, according to the Commandments of God, and the Law of Nature, and Nations; and I have not sinned against Man, but against God, and with him there is Mercy, which is the Ground of my drawing near unto him.

' It is objected against me by many, (even Good People,)

ple,) that I am under the Censure of the Church ; this is not my Fault, since it is only for doing my Duty, by obeying my Prince's most Just Commands, for Religion, his Sacred Person and Authority. Yet I am sorry they did Excommunicate me, and in that which is according to God's Laws, without wronging my Conscience, or Allegiance. I desire to be relaxed ; if they will not do it, I appeal to God, who is the Righteous Judge of the World, and who must, and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour.

It is spoken of me that I should blame the King, (God forbid,) for the late King he liv'd a Saint, and died a Martyr ; I pray God I may so end as he did ; if ever I should wish my Soul in another Man's Stead it should be in his. For his Majesty now living, never People I believe might be more Happy in a King : His Commands to me were most just ; in nothing that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly with all Men ; I pray he be so dealt withal, that he be not betray'd under Trust, as his Father was.

I desire not to be mistaken, as if my Carriage at this Time in Relation to your Ways were stubborn ; I do but follow the Light of my own Conscience, which is seconded by the Working of the Good Spirit of God that is within me, I thank him I go to Heaven's Throne with Joy. If he enable me against the Fear of Death, and furnish me with Courage and Confidence to embrace it, even in its most Ugly Shape. Let God be glorified in my End, though it were in my Damnation. Yet I say not this out of any Fear or Distrust, but out of my Duty to God, and Love to his People.

I have no more to say, but that I desire your Charity and Prayers. I shall pray for you all. I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my Good-will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conscience.

Being desired to pray apart, he said, I have already poured out my Soul before the Lord, who knows my Heart, and into whose Hands I have commended my Spirit, and he hath been graciously pleased to return to me a full Assurance of Peace in Jesus Christ my Redeemer,

deemer, and therefore if you will not join with me in Prayer, my reiterating again will be both Scandalous to you and me. So closing his Eyes, and holding up his Hands, he stood a Good Space at his Inward Devotions, being perceiv'd to be inwardly mov'd all the while. When he had done he call'd for the Executioner, and gave him Money; then having brought unto him (hanging in a Cord) his Declaration and History, he hang'd them about his Neck, saying, ' Though it hath pleased his Sacred Majesty that now is to make him one of the Knights of the most Honourable Order of the Garter, yet he did not think himself more honoured by the Garter, than by that Cord with the Books, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and Content as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold; and therefore desir'd them to be tied to him as they pleased.

When this was done, and his Arms tied, he asked the Officers, ' If they had any more Dishonour (as they conceiv'd it) ' to put upon him, he was ready to accept it. And so with an Undaunted Courage and Gravity suffered according to the Sencence pass upon him.

The Speech of the Truly Loyal Colonel William Sybbald, on the Scaffold, at the Time of his Execution at Edenburg, Jan. 7, 1650.

Gentlemen, I am brought this Day to this Place to pay a Debt to Nature before it be due; and by the Mercies and Cruelty of my Merciless Enemies I am sentenced to die as a Traytor to my Country, for endeavouring to do Service for my King, on whose Happiness and Welfare does depend the Welfare of these Kingdoms; and to whom I am bound both by the Law of God and Man to perform all Faithful and Loyal Service: And as the Cause for which I suffer proclaims my Loyalty, so their Sentence does declare to all the World their Disloyalty, and their Intentions against the King.

Their Self-guiltiness makes Cowardly Spirits cruel. And such was their Proceedings against me, as that could not obtain an Advocate to plead for me, nor

Man skillful in the Laws, either to advise with me, or to write my Defence, though they knew me to be ignorant of the Laws. Thus is my Innocency and Integrity betray'd, partly by their Malice, and my own Ignorance.

The Truth is, they did offer to do me any Courtship or Favour if I would make an Ingenious Confession; that is, accuse some Noblemen and Gentlemen of keeping Correspondency with his Majesty, or with the Marquiss of *Montrose*; which if I had done I deserved to have been branded with Perpetual Infamy, for I never knew any Man in this Kingdom that did keep Correspondency with them; neither had I Commission from his Majesty, or the Marquiss of *Montrose*, to treat with any. I did indeed speak with some Noblemen and Gentlemen, because I was formerly oblig'd unto them for their Love to me, and did expect from them some small Assistance to furnish me in my Journey; but I never spake with them concerning the Publick Affairs no farther than the Weekly *Gazettes* made known to all the World. If these great Fish could have been taken in our Statesmens Nets, it might have been that such a Minnow as I should have escaped the Bailiff of the Fishmarket's Hand this Day.

I have been from my Youth a Soldier; and though that Calling in itself be honourable, yet Men in that Calling have greater Occasions and Provocations to Sin than in any private Calling. Besides, Naturally my Youth led me to some Abominable Sins, and Custom in them did for many Years detain me Captive unto them; so that I cannot but confess that to me appertaineth Shame and Confusion in this Life, and Damnation of Soul and Body eternally in Hell-fire, if God should deal with me according to my Desert; my Comfort is, that the Blood of my Saviour cries louder in his Ears for Mercy than my Sins do for Vengeance; and that he who hath promised a free Pardon and Remission unto all penitent Sinners thro' Faith in Jesus Christ, will purge and cleanse my Soul from all Uncleanness, and deliver me from all Blood-guiltiness, by the Blood of his Son our Saviour. The

true Sorrow that I find in my Soul for my former
 Sins, and that godly Resolution and stedfast Promise
 I have to lead a new Life, if it pleased God to con-
 tinue it, together with the Joy, the Patience, and the
 Courage I have to suffer, gives me some Assurance
 of this Blessed Hope, that through Faith in Christ
 Jesus my Saviour my penitent Soul, though sinful,
 shall be saved.

And as for my Religion, I die as I lived, a true
 Protestant; this Religion, I thank God, as it preserv-
 ed me from Popish Superstition, so it kept me from
 being seduced by the Novelties of the Times, and
 from being deluded with the Wicked Doctrine which
 is now taught by the Reformers of the Kirk. It was
 this Religion which did keep my Hand from your
 Covenant, of which, in the Space of some Five Years,
 you gave Two Interpretations quite contradictory; for
 in the Year 1639 the Assembly did affirm (as ap-
 pears by our Acts of Parliament and Assembly) that
 in all Causes whatsoever you were to defend and
 maintain the Person and Dignity of your King; but
 in the Year 1644 you limit your Obedience to
 your King, to your Religion, Laws and Liberty, and
 make your selves in all Differences between the King
 and you both Judge and Party. The Religion in
 which I was Bred taught me to give both to God
 and my King their due; it taught me to Honour
 and Worship God, and to expect Salvation through
 Christ; and to live soberly, and to deal justly with
 all Men. I ever hated that Religion which made
 Saints or Angels Sharers with God in his Worship;
 or Men Partakers with my Redeemer in the Work of
 my Redemption; or that made our Christian Liberty
 a Cloak of Maliciousness; and tho' naturally I inclined
 to Evil, and Wicked Company drew me to more
 heinous and filthy Sins, yet I thank God I hated
 that Religion that taught Impiety and Wickedness,
 Rebellion, Murther and Injustice, or that approved
 the Killing of Kings and their Loyal Subjects for their
 Loyalty, as having its Original rather from the Devil
 who was a Murtherer from the Beginning, than from

God: and I did ever esteem it more agreeable to Man's
 sinful and Corrupted Nature, than to God's Holy Word.
 I have heard a Learned Man say, that it were better to de-
 ny God to be, than to believe him to be such an one who
 delights in the Bloody Sacrifices of Men and Women,
 or to think that he is such an one who delights in Cru-
 elty and Murther: the God whom we serve and wor-
 ship is the Saviour of the World, the Preserver of
 Man, the Redeemer of Mankind, the Avenger of his
 Blood. I have been taught from God's Word that he
 hath no Pleasure in Wickedness, neither shall any Evil
 dwell with him; undoubtedly such Bloody Sacrifices
 cannot be pleasing or acceptable to him, for they are
 repugnant to his Nature, and contradictory to the Ju-
 stice and Equity of his Holy Law.

It is my greatest Grief at this Time I did not walk
 according to the Purity of my Religion, and the Holiness
 of God, who hath called us to the Knowledge of his
 Truth. Therefore let me entreat you to pray unto
 God with me, and for me, that he would be pleased
 to pardon my many and great Sins; that he would
 purge my Soul with the Blood of his Son from the
 Guilt and Pollution of all my Sins; that I may be pre-
 sented unto my Heavenly Father without Spot or
 Winkle, Holy without Blemish; that he would re-
 ceive me through the Merits of my Saviour into Ever-
 lasting Peace, and into the Glorious Estate of his Cho-
 sen Saints in Heaven. O Lord into thy Hands I com-
 mend my Soul; Lord Jesu receive my Spirit; O Merci-
 ful Father forgive my Enemies, and lay not this Sin
 to their Charge. Amen.

*The Manner of the Execution of the Reverend Doctor John
 Hewitt, D. D. on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, on Tues-
 day, the 8th of June, 1648, with his Speech before his Death.*

BEing come upon the Scaffold (together with Dr. Wild;
 Dr. Warristrey, and Mr. Barnwick) he fell upon his
 Knees, and prayed privately for the space of a quarter of
 an Hour, after that he prayed audibly for a good space.

After which Prayer he Addressed himself to the People
 in a Speech which continued above the space of an Hour,
 the substance of which Speech was as followeth. F 2 F

" I am now become a publick Spectacle to Men and
 " Angels; and (I hope) God, who is Omnipotent, is now
 " beholding me with much Pity, and great Mercy and
 " Compassion; and the more, because I am now come to
 " that End, that his own Son came into the World to,
 " to bear Witness to the Truth, he himself said, For
 " this End was I Born, for this Cause came I into the World,
 " that I should bear Witness to the Truth: I was brought
 " into the World (the Christian World) for to bear
 " Witness to the Truth of the Gospel, as a common Chri-
 " stian; I was brought into the World (the Church) as
 " a Minister of his Blessed Word and Sacraments; [Ble-
 " sed be his Name for that great Honour and Dignity:]
 " and I came into the World to die more immediately for
 " the Testimony of JESUS, which God hath now cal-
 " led me to. I came into this World (this Common-
 " wealth) to be a Member thereof, to bear Witness to
 " the Truth of Customs, the Laws, the Liberties, and
 " Privileges thereof; so I am a Member of the Com-
 " monwealth: And methinks it seems to me a strange
 " Thing, that in as much as we all plead for Liberty and
 " Privileges, and I pleading for the Privileges, the
 " Laws, the Statutes, and the Customs of this Land, yet
 " I should die by those that should stand for the Laws,
 " the Statutes and Privileges of the Land: And I am
 " here behold by those that plead for their Liberties, and
 " I hope I am pined, because I have give up my self wil-
 " lingly and freely to be a State Martyr for the Publick
 " Good, and I had rather Die many Deaths my self than
 " Betray my Fellow-freemen to so many Inconveniencies
 " that they might be like to suffer, by being subject to the
 " Wills of them that willed me to this Death.

" And it is worthy Remembrance, that Mr. Solicitor
 " having impeached me of Treason to the Commissioners
 " of the Court against his Highness, I did often (when
 " brought before those Commissioners) plead for the Li-
 " berties of the People of England: Though I had no
 " Knowledge of the Law, yet I had Instruction from those
 " that were learned in the Law, and had several Law Ca-
 " ses and Presidents put into my Hand, though not by
 " them, and urged several Law-Cases, and made my Ap-
 " peal. First, for the Judicature that I was to be tried

whether it were according to Law? Whether it were according to the Act? And whether it were according to the Words of the said Act? I did Appeal to have the said Act urged by learned Lawyers on both Sides, and then to be resolved by his Highness's own Council, which was denied me: [This by the by.] I pleading the Argument; made a Second Appeal, that those Judges if they would give singly their several Judgments, that it was a Just and Lawful Court of Judicature, I would answer to my Charge. I did make another Appeal to those that were his Highness's Council, and pleaded against me, that if they would deliver it to me under their Hands to be according to Law, I would then go on to plead and answer to the Charge. What was then said further, my Spirits being Faint, I shall not say much, but only this, I was taken in Three Defaults upon Formality of the Court. It seems it is a Custom in all Courts, (which I did not know before,) that if they answer not the Third time speaking by the Clerk, that then they are guilty of Three Defaults, and proceeded against as Mute: [I had no such Knowledge of the Law.] So they found me guilty of those Defaults, and when I would have pleaded, and resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from the Bar. I did the next Day make my Petition to the Court in the Painted-Chamber. Two Petitions were presented the same in Effect: the former the Title was Mistaken: Yet because the Title was Mistaken, and no Answer given, therefore it was that another Petition was drawn up to the same Effect, with a new Title given, (as I remember,) presented by the Serjeant at Arms; and one writ it over in such haste, lest they should be drawn out of the Painted-Chamber into the Court, that I had not time to read it over, only I subscribed by Name, and there was in the Front of the Petition a Word left out, but what the Word was I know not; and this was taken so ill as if I had put an Affront and Contempt upon the Court; and it was thought they would have heard me plead, and then because of that Mistake they sent word I should have my Answer when I came into the Court; and my Answer was the Sentence of Condemnation. And therefore I pray with all my Soul

Soul that God would forgive all those that occasioned
 the Charge to be drawn against me, to give such bad
 Things against me: I pray with all my Soul that God
 would forgive all those that upon so slender and small
 Grounds adjudg'd me to Die, taking Advantage of such
 simple Ignorance as I was in. And I had at the very
 beginning of my pleading engaged their Honours no
 Advantage should be taken against me to my Prejudice,
 in as much as I understood nothing of the Law. And
 having heard that a Man in the Nicety of the Law
 might be lost in the Severity thereof, merely for speak-
 ing a Word out of simple Ignorance, I made it my
 Prayer to them that no Advantage might be taken a-
 gainst me to the Prejudice of my Person: And there
 was to me a seeming Consent; for the President told
 me there should be no Advantage taken against me:
 And upon these Considerations I am afraid there was too
 great Uncharitableness. But I pray God forgive them
 from the very bottom of my Soul; and I desire that
 even those that shed my Blood may have the Bowels
 of the God of Mercy shed for them.

And now having given you the Occasion of my com-
 ing hither, it is fit I should give you somewhat as con-
 cerning my self, as I am a Christian, and as I am a
 Clergyman. First, as I am a Christian, I thank God I
 was Baptized to the Holy Church, so I was Baptized
 to be a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that
 is, the Church of *England*, which I dare say for Purity
 of Doctrine, and Orderly Discipline, till a sad Refor-
 mation had spoiled the Face of the Church, and made
 it a Query, whether it were a Church or no? I say, it
 was more purely Divine and Apostolical than any o-
 ther Doctrine or Church in the Christian World,
 whether National, or Classical, or Congregational: And
 I must tell you, that as I am a Member of this Church,
 so I am a Member of the Holy Catholick Church, and
 shall give a most just Confession of my Faith, both Ne-
 gatively and Affirmatively. Negatively I am so, a
 Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all
 Sects, Schisms, Sedition and Tyranny in Religion.
 Affirmatively so, that as I hold Communion with, so I

Love

Love and Honour all Christians in the World that Love the same Lord JESUS in Sincerity, and Call on his Name, agreeing with those Truths that are absolutely necessary, and clearly demonstrated in the Word of God, both in the Old and New Testament, though in Charity dissenting from some others that are not necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian, I hope for Salvation through the Merits of Christ Jesus; his Blood I rely on, his Merits I trust to the Salvation of my own Soul: Though to this Faith Good Works are Necessary, not Meritorious in us, but only made Meritorious by Christ his Death; by his All-sufficiency, by his Satisfaction, and his Righteousness, they become Meritorious, but in us they are no other than as defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member of the Church, so I told you I was a Member of this Community, and so pleaded for the Liberties and Priviledges thereof. I must now answer some things I am aspersed withal in the World.

They talk of something of a Plot, and a Treasonable Design, and that I had a great Interest in the Knowledge and Practice thereof; and that, for the saving my Life, I would have discovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I hope my Conversation hath not been such here in this City, where I have been a long time very well known, as to make one imagine I should intermeddle in such an Action, and go so contrary to the Practice of my Profession: And I hope there are none so uncharitable towards me as to believe I had a Knowledge of that Design.

Here I must come to Particulars, for a Plot of having a Design upon the City of *London*, for the Firing of it. I so much Tremble at the Thought of the Thing that should have been done, as they say, for the carrying on of such a Design, (if my Heart deceive me not,) had I known it, I so much abhor the Thing, I should have been the First Discoverer of it: Nor ever had I Correspondency or Meetings with such Persons as would have carried on such a Design. It is said likewise I entertained the Earl, the Marquis of *Ormond*: To my remembrance I never saw the Face of that Honourable Person in my Life. It is said one Lord's

Lord's-day I did preach at Saint Gregory's,
 Lord's-day I was at *St. Dunstons* or *St. Dunstons*,
 King's Hand, and brought I cannot tell what
 and Instructions from him. This I shall say,
 Three Years last past together, I have not been
 from this City of London, and I think it is some
 ther to either of those Places than Threescore Miles.
 is said that I kept Correspondency with one *Mallory* and
Bishop: They are Persons I have heard of their Names,
 but never saw their Faces; and to my knowledge I do not
 know they know me: Nor do I know them at all, but on-
 ly as I have heard of their Names. And whosoever else
 hath suggested such Things against me I know not.

His Highness was pleased to tell me I was like a
 flaming Torch in the midst of a Sheaf of Corn; He
 meaning, I being a publick Preacher, was able to set the
 City on Fire by Sedition and Combustions, and promo-
 ting Designs. Here truly I do say, and have it from many
 of those who are Judges of the High-Court, that upon
 Examinations of the Business, they have not found me a
 Meddler at all in these Affairs. And truly I must needs
 say therefore that it was a very uncharitable Act in them
 (whosoever they were) that brought such Accusation a-
 gainst me, and suggested his Highness against me. I will not
 say it was Malice, it might be Zeal, but it was rash Zeal,
 which caused me to be Sentenced to this Place: The
 God of Mercy Pardon and Forgive them all. And
 truly as I am a Member of the Church, and as a Mem-
 ber of the Community, on whose behalf I have been
 speaking, I cannot but do as our Saviour himself did
 for his Disciples when he was to be taken from them:
 he Blessed them, and Ascended up to Heaven. My Trial
 is in the Mercy of the most High I shall not misce-
 ry; and however my Days are shortened by this unex-
 pected Doom, and shall be brought untimely to the
 Grave, I cannot go without my Prayer for a Blessing
 upon all the People of this Land, and cannot but Bless
 them all in the Name of God, and beseech God to Bless
 them in all their Ways, and his Blessing be upon them.

Thus to Accompany the rest of Loyal Martyrs Dead
 this Pious and Reverend Divine, who expir'd like a Lamb

